

A MARXIST BOOK LIST (an introductory selection)

Marx, Karl

Wage-Labour and Capital (1846); Value, Price and Profit (1865); *International Pub., NY, 1976 paperback edition.*

WAGE-LABOUR AND CAPITAL: (*Contents:*) What are wages? By what is the price of a commodity determined? By what are wages determined? The nature and growth of capital; Relation of wage-labour to capital; The general law that determines the rise and fall of wages and profits; The interests of capital and wage-labour are diametrically opposed – effect of growth of productive capital on wages; Effect of capitalist competition on the capitalist class, the middle class, and the working class.

VALUE, PRICE AND PROFIT: Product and wages; Production, wages, profits; Wages and currency; Supply and demand; wages and prices; Value and labour; Labouring power; Production of surplus value; Value of labour; Profit is made by selling a commodity at its value; The different parts into which surplus value is decomposed; General relation of profits, wages and prices; Main cases of attempts at raising wages or resisting their fall; The struggle between capital and labour and its results.

Marx, Karl & Engels, Frederick

The Civil War in the United States (1861-1866); *International Pub., NY, 1937, 325 pp. (selection):*

PART 1: Articles from *The New York Daily Tribune*, 1861-1862; The American question in England; The British cotton trade; The intervention in Mexico; The news and its effect in London; English public opinion.

PART 2: Articles from the *Vienna Presse*, 1861-1862 (selection); The North American Civil War, The crisis in England; Economic notes; The dismissal of Frémont; The Trent Case; The Washington cabinet and the Western powers; The opinion of the journals and the opinion of the people; French news humbug – economic consequences of the War; A pro-America meeting; A coup d'état of Lord John Russell, A London workers' meeting; Anti-intervention feeling; The cotton crisis; The Secessionists' friends in the Lower House – recognition of the American blockade; The American Civil War, The English press and the fall of New Orleans, A treaty against the slave trade, The situation in the American theatre of war; A suppressed debate on Mexico and the alliance with France; Abolitionist demonstrations in America; The dismissal of McClellan, English neutrality – the situation in the southern States. PART 3: Correspondence between Karl Marx and Frederick Engels 1860-1866.

APPENDIX: Address of the International Workingmen's Association to Abraham Lincoln; The American Ambassador's reply; Address of the I.W.A. to President Johnson

Marx, Karl & Engels, Frederick

On the Paris Commune (1870-1884): *Progress Pub., Moscow, 1971, 355 pp*

PART 1: Karl Marx: THE CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE. Introduction by Frederick Engels; First address to the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War; Second address on the Franco-Prussian War; The Civil War in France; The Commune; PART 2: SPEECHES BY MARX on the Government of National Defence and by Engels on the March 18

Revolution in Paris; Newspaper articles, speeches and Resolutions by Marx and Engels in 1871; Preface to the Manifesto of the Communist Party of 1872; A Message of greetings to the French workers on the 21st Anniversary of the Paris Commune; PART 3: LETTERS, ARTICLES AND SPEECHES BY MARX & ENGELS, March 1871 to October 1884 .

Engels, Frederick

Socialism: Utopian and Scientific (1877); *Progress Pub., Moscow, 1970, 79 pp.*

Special Introduction to the English Edition in 1892 (*Ed.: British materialism: Bacon, Hobbes, Locke; Agnosticism, the Protestant Reformation; 1: The utopians: Saint-Simon, Fourier, Robert Owen; the French Revolution; 2: The metaphysical dialectics of Hegel; the idealist conception of history; 3: The materialist conception of history; modern socialism; the capitalist mode of production produces the germ of social contradictions; mechanization of production; capitalist competition transformed to monopoly production; permanent capitalist boom and bust cycles; the destiny of the proletariat is to abolish its status.*)

Engels, Frederick

The British Labor Movement (1881): *International Pub., New York, 1940, 47 pp*

A fair day's wage for a fair day's work; The wages system; Trades unions, The French commercial treaty, American food and the land question; The wages theory of the Anti-corn Law League; A working men's party; Bismarck and the German working men's party; Cotton and iron; Social classes – necessary and superfluous.

Engels, Frederick

The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State (1884); *Pathfinder Press, NY, 1972, 192 pp.*

Prehistoric Stages of Culture; The Family; The Iroquois Gens (*clans or tribes descended through the male line -- Websters*); The Grecian Gens; The Rise of the Athenian State; The Gens and the State in Rome; The Gens among the Celts and Germans; The Formation of the State among the Germans, Barbarism and Civilization. (**Additional essay: 1876**) The part played by labour in the transition from ape to man.

Engels, Frederick

Anti-Duhring (1894); Duhring's revolution in science; *International Pub., NY, 1972, 365 pp. (on dialectical materialism)*

INTRODUCTION: General: ("We know today that this kingdom of reason was nothing more than the idealised kingdom of the bourgeoisie; that eternal justice found its realisation in bourgeois justice; that equality reduced itself to bourgeois equality before the law; that bourgeois property was proclaimed as one of the essential rights of man, and that the government of reason ... could only come into existence as a bourgeois democratic republic.") What Herr Durhing promises.

PART 1—PHILOSOPHY: Classification, Apriorism; World schematism; Natural philosophy, Time and

space; -- Cosmogony, Physics, chemistry; -- The organic world; Morality and law, eternal truths; -- Equality; -- Freedom and necessity (“...when the bourgeoisie arose out of the burghers of the feudal period, when this ‘estate’ of the Middle Ages developed into a class of modern society, it was always and inevitably accompanied by its shadow, the proletariat. And in the same way the bourgeois demand for equality was accompanied by the proletarian demand for equality...”); Dialectics, Quantity and Quality; -- Negation of the Negation.

PART 2—POLITICAL ECONOMY: Subject matter & method; The force theory; Theory of value; Simple and compound labour; Capital and surplus value; Natural laws of economics, Ground rent; From (Duhring’s) “The Critical History of Political Economy”

PART 3—SOCIALISM: Historical (*the contribution and the genius of the early utopians: Saint-Simon and Fourier in France and the great communist innovator – and industrialist! —Robert Owen in England –ed.*); Theoretical, Production; Distribution; State, Family, Education.

Lenin, V.I.

What is to be done? (1902), *Progress Pub., Moscow, 1964, 191 pp.*

PART 1: (*selection*) Dogmatism and “freedom of criticism”; Engels on the Importance of the Theoretical Struggle; PART 2: The spontaneity of the masses and the consciousness of the Social-Democrats (*‘Social-Democrats’ being the name of the revolutionary socialists of the period –ed.*); PART 3: Trade-unionist politics and Social-democratic politics; What is there in common between economism and terrorism (“namely, subservience to spontaneity”)? PART 4: The primitiveness of the economists and the organisation of the revolutionaries; Organisation of Workers and Organisation of Revolutionaries (“I mean professional revolutionaries”); PART 5: The “Plan for an All-Russian political newspaper”; What type of organisation do we require? (*the right of Marxists to dream, to be free of those* “who boast of sober views, their ‘closeness’ to the ‘concrete’, the representatives of legal criticism and of illegal ‘tail-ism’.”)

Luxemburg, Rosa

The Russian Revolution & Leninism or Marxism? (1904), *Ann Arbor Paperbacks, 1970.*

Fundamental significance of the Russian Revolution; The Bolshevik land policy; The nationalities question; The Constituent Assembly; The question of suffrage; The problem of dictatorship; The struggle against corruption; Democracy and dictatorship; Leninism or Marxism?

Trotsky, Leon

1905 , the first Russian Revolution (1909), 1971, *Random House, 488 pp.*

Russia’s Social Development and Tsarism; Russian Capitalism, The Peasantry and the Agrarian Question, The Driving Forces of the Russian Revolution, The Strike in October, The Creation of the Soviet of Workers’ Deputies; Witte’s Ministry, The First Days of the ‘Freedoms’; The Tsar’s Men at Work, Storming the Censorship Bastilles; The November Strike; Eight Hours and a Gun; The Peasant Riots; the Red Fleet; On the Threshold of Counter-Revolution; The Last Days of the Soviet, Summing Up; The Proletariat and the Russian Revolution, Our Differences, The struggle for Power, On the Special Features of Russia’s Historical Development; The Trial of the Soviet of Workers’ Deputies; The Soviet and the Prosecution, My Speech Before the Court; There...(into exile) and Back.

Lenin, V.I.

The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism (1914); *Foreign Languages Pub., Moscow:*

PART 1: (*materialism*) PART 2: (*The labour theory of value*); PART 3: (*the doctrine of the class struggle*); **Karl Marx:** Brief Biographical sketch with an exposition of Marxism; **The Marxian doctrine:** Philosophical materialism; Dialectics, The Materialist conception of history, The class struggle; **Marx's economic doctrine:** Value; Surplus Value; **Socialism; Tactics of the class struggle of the proletariat; Frederick Engels (1895):** (*A tribute and biographical essay.*)

Lenin, V.I.

Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism (1916); *Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 173, 157pp.*

PART 1: Concentration of production and monopolies; PART 2: The banks and their new role; PART 3: Finance capital and the financial oligarchy; PART 4: The export of capital, PART 5: The division of the world among capitalist combines; PART 6: The division of the world among the great powers; PART 7: Imperialism, as a special stage of capitalism; PART 8: The parasitism and decay of capitalism; PART 9: The critique of imperialism; PART 10: The place of imperialism in history

Lenin, V.I.

The State and Revolution (1917); The Marxist Theory of the State and the Tasks of the Proletariat in the Revolution, *Progress Pub., Moscow, 1965 (written by Lenin while underground in August & September 1917, last chapter never written), 140 pp.*

CHAPTER 1: Class society and the State; CHAPTER 2: State & Revolution: The experience of 1848-51—Marx's analysis; (The French Revolution); CHAPTER 3: State & Revolution: Experience of the Paris Commune of 1871(includes: 1. What made the Communards' attempt heroic? 2. What is to replace the smashed State machine? 3. Abolition of parliamentarism; 4. Organisation of national unity; 5. Abolition of the parasite State); CHAPTER 4: Continuation; Supplementary explanations by Engels; CHAPTER 5: The economic basis of the Withering Away of the State; The transition from Capitalism to Communism; CHAPTER 6: The vulgarisation of Marxism by the opportunists; Plekhanov's controversy with the Anarchists; Kautsky's controversy with the Opportunists.

Lenin, V.I.

"Left-Wing" Communism, an infantile disorder (1920); *Progress Pub., Moscow, 1970, 118 pp.* (*including advice to British CP on their orientation to their mass labor party, the British Labour Party—ed. **).

CHAPTER.1: In what sense we can speak of the International significance of the Russian Revolution; CHAPTER 2: An essential condition of the Bolsheviks' success; CHAPTER.3: The principal stages in the history of Bolshevism; CHAPTER.4: The struggle against which enemies within the working-class movement helped Bolshevism develop, gain strength, and become steeled; CHAPTER 5: "Left-Wing" communism in Germany. The leaders, the party, the class, the masses; CHAPTER 6: Should revolutionaries work in reactionary trade unions? CHAPTER 7: Should we participate in bourgeois Parliaments? CHAPTER 8: No compromises? CHAPTER 9: "Left-Wing" communism in Great Britain (*"Communists should participate ... within parliament ... since revolution is impossible without a

change in the views of the majority of the working class, a change brought about by the political experience of the masses, never by propaganda alone.”); CHAPTER 10: Several conclusions; APPENDICES – Germany and Italy.

Trotsky, Leon

Terrorism and Communism, 1920, *Ann Arbor Paperback*, 191 pp., 1972

France at a turning point (1936 preface); The balance of power, The dictatorship of the proletariat; Democracy, Terrorism, The Paris Commune and Soviet Russia; Marx and – Kautsky; The working class and its Soviet policy; Problems of the organization of labor; Karl Kautsky, his school and his book; In place of an Epilogue. (“...one of the most influential tracts in defense of the Bolsheviks’ course in the Russian Revolution of 1917”).

Trotsky, Leon

Results and Prospects (1921), *Merit Pub.*, NY, , 122 pp, 1969.

Preface published in Moscow in 1919; The peculiarities of Russian historical development; The towns and capital; (The revolutions of) 1789 – 1848 – 1905; Revolution and the proletariat; The proletariat in power and the peasantry; The proletarian regime; The pre-requisites of socialism; A workers’ government in Russia and socialism; Europe and revolution; The struggle for power.

Trotsky, Leon

Lessons of October (1924), *Pioneer Publishers*, 125 pp, 1937 (including an Introduction by Maurice Spector, leading Canadian Trotskyist – See article in *W15-Additional Corresp.*, 1937)

We must study the October Revolution; “The democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry” – in February and in October; The struggle against war and defensism; The April conference (*Lenin’s “April Theses”*); The July days; the Kornilov episode, the democratic conference and the pre-parliament; On the eve of the October Revolution; the aftermath; The October Insurrection and Soviet “legality”; Again, on the Soviets and the Party in a proletarian revolution.

Trotsky, Leon

Leon Trotsky on Britain (1925-1926), *Monad Press*, NY, 1973, 334 pp

PART 1: Where is Britain going? (1925); England’s decline; Mr. Baldwin and “gradualness”; Some peculiarities of English labor leaders; The Fabian “theory” of socialism; The problem of Revolutionary Force; Two traditions: The Great Rebellion and Chartism; Trade unions and Bolshevism; A forecast of the future; PART 2: Where is Britain going? (1925-26) Problems of the British labor movement; On tempos and dates; Brailsford and Marxism; Once more on pacifism and Revolution: A reply to Bertrand Russell; Part 3: After the General Strike (1926-28): The future of the British Communist Party; Resolution on the General Strike in Britain; Amendments to the Resolution on the situation in Britain; Resolution of the Opposition on the Anglo-Russian Committee; What we gave and what we got; A balance sheet of the Anglo-Russian Committee.

Trotsky, Leon

My Life (1929), an autobiography., 1970, *Pathfinder Press*, 602 pp

Our neighbours and my first school; Odessa: my family and my school, Books and early conflicts; The Break; My first revolutionary organization; My first prisons; My first exile, My first escape; An Émigré

for the first time; The party congress and the split; The return to Russia; The year 1905; trial, exile, escape; My second foreign exile: German socialism; Preparing for a new revolution; The beginning of the War; Paris, and Zimmerwald; My expulsion from France; Through Spain; New York; In a concentration Camp (*in Nova Scotia—ed.*); In Petrograd; Concerning slanderers; From July to October; The deciding night; “Trotskyism” in 1917; In Power; In Moscow; Negotiations at Brest-Litovsk; Peace; A month at Sviyazhsk; The train; The defence of Petrograd; The military opposition; Disagreements over war strategy; The transition to the New Economy Policy and my relations with Lenin; Lenin’s illness; The conspiracy of the Epigones; Lenin’s death and the shift of power; The last period of struggle within the Party; The exile, The deportation, The planet without a visa.

Trotsky, Leon

The Permanent Revolution (1929), Merit Pub. NY, 1969, 156 pp with an introduction by Peter Camejo (YSA-USA) on the vindication of the theory by the Cuban Revolution.

Introduction to the first edition, Berlin 1929; Introduction to the German edition; The enforced nature of this work and its aim; The permanent revolution is not a ‘leap’ by the proletariat, but the reconstruction of the nation under the leadership of the proletariat; Three elements of the ‘democratic dictatorship’: classes, tasks and political mechanics; What did the theory of the permanent revolution look like in practice? Was the ‘democratic dictatorship’ realized in our country? If so, when? On the skipping of historical stages; What does the slogan of the democratic dictatorship mean today for the East? From Marxism to pacifism; Epilogue; What is the Permanent Revolution (*basic postulates*).

Trotsky, Leon

The Russian Revolution (1930), Pluto Press (GB) 1977, 1298 pp. New Edition Pathfinder Press: unabridged 3 Volumes in 1-- 2016

VOLUME 1: THE OVERTHROW OF CZARISM. Peculiarities of Russia’s Development; Czarist Russia in the War; The Proletariat and the Peasantry; The Czar and the Czarina; The Idea of a Palace Revolution; The Death Agony of the Monarchy; Five Days, Who Led the February Insurrection? The Paradox of the February Revolution; The New Power; Dual Power; The Executive Committee; The Army and the War; The Ruling Group and the War; The Bolsheviks and Lenin; Re-arming the Party; The “April Days”; The First Coalition; The Offensive; The Peasantry; Shifts in the Masses; The Soviet Congress and the June Demonstration; Conclusion.

VOLUME 2: THE ATTEMPTED COUNTER-REVOLUTION. The “July Days” -- Preparation and Beginning; The “July Days” -- Culmination and Rout; Could the Bolsheviks have seized the Power in July? The Month of the Great Slander; The Counter-Revolution Lifts its Head; Kerensky and Kornilov; The State Conference in Moscow; Kerensky’s Plot; Kornilov’s Insurrection; The Bourgeoisie Measures Strength with the Democracy; The Masses under Attack; The Rising Tide; The Bolsheviks and the Soviets; The Last Coalition.

VOLUME 3: THE TRIUMPH OF THE SOVIETS. The Peasantry before October; The Problem of Nationalities; Withdrawal from the Pre-Parliament and Struggle for the Soviet Congress; The Military-Revolutionary Committee; Lenin Summons to Insurrection; The Art of Insurrection; The Conquest of the Capital; The Capture of the Winter Palace; The October Insurrection; The Congress of the Soviet Dictatorship.

Trotsky, Leon

The struggle against Fascism in Germany (1930-1933), *Pathfinder Press, NY, 1972, 476 pp. with an Introduction by Ernest Mandel, 1969.*

PART 1: Sounding the alarm; The turn in the Communist International and the situation in Germany, 1930; Thaelmann and the "People's Revolution" 1931; Workers' control of production; Factory councils and workers' control of production, 1931; PART 2: The United Front explained; Against National Communism! (Lessons of the "Red Referendum," 1931); Germany, the key to the international situation; For a Workers' United Front against Fascism, 1931; What next? Vital questions for the German proletariat, 1932; PART 3: The nature of Bonapartism; Interview with Montag Morgen, 1932; The German puzzle; The only road; German Bonapartism; PART 4: The decision is made; Before the decision, 1933; The United Front for Defense: A letter to a Social Democratic worker, 1933); PART 5: Reviewing the lessons; The Tragedy of the German proletariat: The German workers will rise again – Stalinism, never! Germany and the USSR; Hitler and the Red Army, The German catastrophe: The responsibility of the Leadership; What is National Socialism? How long can Hitler stay?; PART 6: For a new International; It is necessary to build Communist Parties and an International anew, 1933; It is impossible to remain in the same International with the Stalins, Manuilskys, Lozovskys & Co.; PART 7: Later generalizations; Bonapartism and Fascism, 1934, Bonapartism, Fascism and War (1940).

Trotsky, Leon

The Revolution Betrayed (1936), *Pathfinder Press, NY, 1972, 314 pp.*

What is the Soviet Union and where is it going? PART 1: What has been achieved; the principal indices of industrial growth; Comparative estimate of these achievements; Production per capita of the population; PART 2: Economic growth and the zigzags of the leadership; "Military Communism", "The New Economic Policy" (NEP) and the course toward the Kulak (rich peasant); A sharp turn: "The Five-Year Plan in Four Years" and "complete collectivization"; PART 3: Socialism and the State: The transitional regime, Program and reality; the Dual character of the Workers' State, "Generalized want" and the Gendarme; The "Complete triumph of socialism" and the "reinforcement of the dictatorship"; PART 4: The struggle for productivity of labor; Money and plan, "Socialist" inflation, The rehabilitation of the Ruble, the Stakhanov Movement; PART 5: The Soviet Thermidor (counter-revolution); Why Stalin triumphed; The degeneration of the Bolshevik Party, The social roots of Thermidor; PART 6: The growth of inequality and social antagonisms; Want, luxury and speculation, the Differentiation of the proletariat, Social contradictions in the collective village, The social physiognomy of the ruling stratum; PART 7: Family, youth and culture; Thermidor in the family, The struggle against the youth, Nationality and culture; PART 8: Foreign policy and the army; From "World revolution" to Status Quo; The League of Nations and the Communist International; the Red Army and its doctrines, the Abolition of the Militia and the restoration of officers' ranks; The Soviet Union in a war; PART 9: Social relations in the Soviet union; State capitalism? Is the bureaucracy a ruling class? The question of the character of the Soviet Union not yet decided by history; PART 10: The Soviet Union in the mirror of the new Constitution; Work "according to ability" and personal property; The Soviets and democracy; Democracy and the Party; PART 11: Wither the Soviet Union? Bonapartism as a regime of crisis; The struggle of the bureaucracy with "the class enemy"; The inevitability of a new revolution; Appendix: "Socialism in one country"; the "friends" of the Soviet Union.

Trotsky, Leon

The Transitional Program for socialist revolution (1938), *Pathfinder, NY, 1973, 223 pp (upon the foundation of the Fourth International –ed.)*

Introductory essays (1971-72): Trotsky's Transitional Program: its origins and significance for today, by Joseph Hansen (SWP-USA); Transitional and democratic slogans as bridges to socialist revolution, by J. Hansen; The role of the Transitional Program in the revolutionary process, by George Novack (SWP-US); **1938:** "The death agony of capitalism and the tasks of the Fourth International," by Leon Trotsky; How to fight for a Labor Party in the U.S.; The political backwardness of the American workers; U.S. and European labor movements: a comparison; Completing the Program and putting it to work, (**LT:** *(in the USSR – Russia)* "It is necessary to drive the bureaucracy and aristocracy out of the Soviets"); How economic shifts affect mass moods; Three possibilities with a Labor Party; (*On the slogan*) "For a Workers' and Farmers' Government" (1938); A Transitional Program for Black Liberation (1972); A strategy for revolutionary youth (1969).

Trotsky, Leon

Leon Trotsky Speaks, *Pathfinder, NY, 1972, Editor Sarah Lovell*

Part 1: Preparing the Revolution: On Trial for Insurrection (1906), Zimmerwald Manifesto Against the War, The February Revolution, All Power to the Soviets, President of the Petrograd Soviet, Organizing the Insurrection. Part 2: Defending the Revolution: Commissar of Foreign Affairs, A Word to the Russian Workers and Peasants, Civil War, Tasks of the Twelfth Congress, For the Internationalist Perspective, The War Danger (1927). Part 3: Open Letter to the Workers of the USSR, Interview from Prinkipo, **In Defense of the Russian Revolution** (speech to students in Copenhagen, 1932), Farewell to Prinkipo, I Stake My Life!, The Founding of the Fourth International, On the Eve of World War, Testament.

Cannon, James P.

Socialism on Trial (1942): *Pathfinder Press, NY, 1970, 184 pp.*

Expanded to include: Defense policy in the Minneapolis "Sedition" Trial (the Grandizo Munis-James P. Cannon debate); Introduction: Cannon's verbatim testimony on behalf of 28 members of the Socialist Workers Party (US) and Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544, convicted under the Smith "Gag" Act (*SWP opposition to the 2nd World War.*) *New Edition Pathfinder Press 2016*

Cannon, James P.

The Struggle for a Proletarian Party (1943), *Pioneer Pub., NY, 302 pp.*

PART 1: (*selection*) The intellectuals and the workers; A new stage in the development of American Trotskyism; The proletarian orientation; PART 2: Letters to comrades (SWP leaders, members, Majority Groups, Leon Trotsky); PART 3: Documents of the struggle (*speeches, convention resolutions; the debate, suspension and expulsion of the Shachtman-Abern Group*); PART 4: The War and bureaucratic conservatism .

Cannon, James P.

The History of American Trotskyism (1943); Report of a participant, *Pioneer Pub.*, NY, 268 pp.

LECTURE 1: (*selections*) The first days of American communism – Trotskyism defined—Continuity of Marxist movement – Struggle for legality; LECTURE 2: Factional struggles in the old Communist Party, Origin of Trotskyist movement; LECTURE 3: The beginning of the Left Opposition; Marxism vs. Stalinism; Cannon and Spector (*Canadian leader*) become Trotskyists – “Trial” and expulsion of Cannon; LECTURE 4: The Left Opposition under fire; LECTURE 5: The Dog Days of the Left Opposition; LECTURE 6: The break with the Comintern; Internationalism, Campaign for new party; LECTURE 7: The turn to mass work; LECTURE 8: The Great Minneapolis Strikes (Teamsters, 1934); LECTURE 9: The fusion with the Musteites, other fusions; Workers Party launched; LECTURE 10: The struggle against sectarianism; LECTURE 11: The “French Turn” in America; Entry into Socialist Party; LECTURE 12: The Trotskyists in the Socialist Party; The Spanish Civil War, Trotsky Defense Committee; Prohibition of “*Socialist Appeal*” and expulsion of Trotskyists; Socialist Workers Party launched.

Cannon, James P.,

The First Ten Years of American Communism (1962), Lyle Stuart, NY, 1962, 345 pp.,

PART 1: Letters to a historian (*Theodore Draper, author also of a 3-volume biography of Leon Trotsky –ed.*); PART 2: The Russian Revolution and the American Negro movement; PART 3: The Forerunners: Eugene V. Debs and the socialist movement of his time; the I.W.W. – the great anticipation; PART 4: A critical review of Theodore Draper’s History “The Roots of American Communism” and “American Communism and Soviet Russia.”

Mandel, Ernest

Marxist economic theory (1962); Merlin Press, London, 1977; 2 volumes in one, 795 pp.

INTRODUCTION: Method, Living Marxism: a promise. CHAPTER 1: Labour, necessary product, surplus product; CHAPTER 2: Exchange, Commodity, Value; CHAPTER 3: Money, Capital, Surplus-value; CHAPTER 4: The development of capital; CHAPTER 5: The contradictions of capitalism; CHAPTER 6: Trade; CHAPTER 7: Credit; CHAPTER 8: Money; CHAPTER 9: Agriculture; CHAPTER 10: Reproduction and growth of the national income; CHAPTER 11: Periodical crises; CHAPTER 12: Monopoly capitalism; CHAPTER 13: Imperialism; CHAPTER 14: The epoch of capitalist decline; CHAPTER 15: The Soviet economy; CHAPTER 16: The economy of the transition period (Planned economy and market economy); CHAPTER 17: Socialist economy; CHAPTER 18: Origin, rise and withering away of political economy.

Mandel, Ernest

An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory (1964); YSA (US), NY, 78 pp.

PART 1: THE THEORY OF VALUE AND SURPLUS VALUE; Social Surplus Product; Commodities, Use-Value and Exchange-Value; The Marxist Theory of Alienation; The Law of Value; Determination of the Exchange-Value of Commodities; What is Socially Necessary Labor? The Origin and Nature of Surplus Value; The Validity of the Labor Theory of Value; PART 2: CAPITAL AND CAPITALISM: Capital in Pre-capitalist Society; Origins of the Capitalist Mode of Production; Origins and Definition

of the Modern Proletariat; The Fundamental Mechanism of Capitalist Economy; the Growth in the Organic Composition of Capital; Competition Leads to Concentration and Monopoly; Tendency of the Average Rate of Profit to Decline; The Fundamental Contradiction in the Capitalist System and the Periodic Crises of Overproduction; PART 3: NEO-CAPITALISM: The Origins of Neo-Capitalism; A Permanent Technological Revolution; The Importance of Armament Expenditures; How Crises are 'Amortized' in a Recession; The Tendency to Permanent Inflation; 'Economic Planning'; The State Guaranty of Profit.

Mandel, Ernest

Introduction to Marxism (1977), *Ink Links, London, 1977, 192 pp.*

CHAPTER 1: Social Inequality and Social Struggle Throughout History; CHAPTER 2: The Economic Sources of Social Inequality; CHAPTER 3: The State, Instrument of Class Domination; CHAPTER 4: Mode of Production; CHAPTER 5: The Capitalist Economy; CHAPTER 6: Monopoly of Capitalism; CHAPTER 7: The World Imperialist System; CHAPTER 8: The Origins of the Modern Labour Movement; CHAPTER 9: Reforms and Revolution; CHAPTER 10: Bourgeois Democracy and Proletarian Democracy; CHAPTER 11: The First Inter-Imperialist War and the Russian Revolution; CHAPTER 12: Stalinism; CHAPTER 13: From the Current Mass Struggles to the World Socialist Revolution; CHAPTER 14: The Winning Over of the Masses by the Revolutionaries; CHAPTER 15: The Coming of Classless Society; CHAPTER 16: Materialist Dialectics; CHAPTER 17: Historical Materialism.

Novack, George

The Origins of materialism (1965); *Merit Pub., NY, 300 pp.*

FOREWORD: "Why has the history of materialism been so neglected and distorted?As in its infancy, materialism has still to contend for its rightful place as the outlook of emancipated humanity...."

PART 1: Materialism versus Idealism; PART 2: The real basis of materialism; PART 3: Magic and Religion; PART 4: The road to philosophy (Burnet and Cornford); PART 5: The revolution in Aegean Civilization; PART 6: The first philosophers; PART 7: The Milesian contributions to materialism; PART 8: Democritus and the early Atomists; PART 9: The views of the Atomists; PART 10: Greek medicine and history; PART 11: The Sophists;. PART 12: Athens and the Socratic Revolution; PART 13: Plato and Aristotle; PART 14: The achievements of the Idealists; PART 15: The philosophy of Epicurus; PART 16: Materialism in Roman Civilization, PART 17: The eclipse of materialism ("What did materialist thought accomplish in this primary phase of its development? *The four advances* 1) In physics, 2) In logic, 3) In sociology, 4) In ethics...")

Novack, George

Existentialism versus Marxism (1965) (*no details – See Pathfinder Press*)

Novack, George

Understanding History (Essays 1960-1973); *Pathfinder Press NY, 1980, 208 pp.*

PART 1: Major theories of history from the Greeks to Marxism, PART 2: The Long View of History, PART 3: From Lenin to Castro: The role of the individual in history making; PART 4: Uneven and

Combined Development in World History; PART 5: The Uneven Development of the World Revolutionary Process; PART 6: Hybrid Formations and the Permanent Revolution in Latin America (*proof of the validity of this theory in a polemic with Andre Gunder Frank –ed.*); Law of Uneven and Combined Development in Latin America (*a polemic with historian David Romagnolo*); The “Second Serfdom” in Central and Eastern Europe; The Problem of Transitional Formations (*the “Workers’ States” –ed.*)

Novack, George

Polemics in Marxist Philosophy (1960-1977): *Essays on Sartre, Plekhanov, Lukacs, Engels, Kolakowski, Trotsky, Timpanaro, Colletti; 1978, Monad Press, NY.*

My Philosophical Itinerary: An Autobiographical Foreword; Freedom for Philosophy; Marxism and Existentialism; In Defense of Engels; Georg Lukas as a Marxist Philosopher; The Jestling Philosopher: The Case of Leszek Kolakowski; Sebastiano Timpanaro’s Defense of Materialism; Back to Kant?—The Retreat of Lucio Colletti; Is Nature Dialectical? American Philosophy and the Labor Movement; Leon Trotsky on Dialectical Materialism (“the greatest revolution in all history was not led by the party which started out with bombs but by the party which started out with dialectical materialism”); **Glossary** (*extensive index of philosophical concepts and short biographies*).

Novack, George

Empiricism and its Evolution: A Marxist view (1968); *Merit Pub., NY, 166 pp.*

PART 1: The Beginnings of Empiricism (“...this homegrown ideology – known as pragmatism in the USA – is, with all its modifications, essentially a New World version of (British) empiricism...”); PART 2: British Empiricism and Natural Science; PART 3: Religion and Metaphysics in Locke’s Philosophy; PART 4: Berkeley’s Inversion of Empiricism; PART 5: The Skepticism of Hume; PART 6: Nineteenth-Century Empiricism from Mill to Mach; PART 7: The Obsolescence of Empiricism; PART 8: Habits of Empirical Thought; PART 9: Pragmatism and Empiricism; PART 10: Materialism and Empiricism Today (“Mankind took more than a million years to go from savagery (hunting, nomadism) through barbarism (farming) to civilization. This crawling pace indicates how greatly recurrences outweighed novelties in daily life ... Change becomes the rule rather than the exception in society and history only with the advent of capitalism – precisely because of the peculiar nature of its mode of production However, bourgeois changeability has inherent limits The monarchy that monopolized political life at the dawn of class rule has in its twilight become a rarity ... Popular sovereignty which was absent in the first civilizations, is today regarded as the normal two hundred years ago men used nothing but hand-tools in production; machines were an insignificant exception In factory industry the use of hand-tools is exceptional while machine production is its basis; their roles have become reversed ... (*empiricists like Karl Popper assert*) that social sciences in general, and Marxism, in particular, possess no predictive power that could contribute to effective social control over the next stage of human progress (i.e., socialism).”) (*See reference to the Cuban Revolution pp. 154-155 on “the transformation of the armed insurrection against Batista’s capitalist dictatorship into a proletarian-peasant revolution is a spectacular example of the law governing the present stage of world history This theorem of the permanent revolution formulates an irrepressible and growing tendency inherent in all the insurgent colonial movements of our time.”*)

Novack, George

Democracy and Revolution (1971); *Pathfinder Press, NY, 1971, 286 pp.*

SECTION 1: Precapitalist forms of Political Democracy – Chapter 1: Success in Greece, Chapter 2: Failure in Rome; Chapter 3: The Democracy of the Medieval Communes; SECTION 2: The Rise and Decline of Bourgeois Democracy – Chapter 4: Tasks & Forces of the Bourgeois Revolutions; Chapter 5: Achievements and Limitations of the Bourgeois Revolutions: *Six bourgeois revolutions*: The Revolt in the Netherlands (*against Spain*); The English Civil War (*Cromwell & the Levellers behead King Charles*); The first American Revolution (*The War of Independence*); The French Revolution, 1789-1814 (*the birth of the concept of Permanent Revolution*); The Revolutions of 1848 (*France again, Germany, Austria, Italy and Hungary*); The American Civil War; Chapter 6: Bourgeois Democratic Ideology; Chapter 7: The Evolution of Parliamentarism, Chapter 8: Parliamentary Democracy in Crisis; Chapter 9: Bonapartism, Military Dictatorship and Fascism (*Trotsky's analysis of fascism as the last stand of capitalism in crisis*); SECTION 3: The Development of Democracy in the United States – Chapter 10: Two traditions of American Democracy (*the first from the mass armed struggle for national liberation 1774-75 to the close of Reconstruction in 1876; the second, the decades since then*), Chapter 11: The realities of American democracy; Chapter 12: How can Democracy be defended and extended? PART 4: Problems and prospects of post-capitalist democracy: Chapter 13: Socialism and bureaucracy; Chapter 14: The colonial struggle for democracy; Chapter 15: Democratic prospects for a socialist America.

Novack, George

Humanism & Socialism (1973); *Pathfinder Press, NY, 159 pp.*

PART 1: The Labor Theory of Human Origins; PART 2: The Emergence of Society, Speech, and Thought; PART 3: The Role of Creative Practice; PART 4: Progress: Reality or Illusion? (“As E.H. Carr observed: ‘In the 19th century British historians....regarded the course of history as a demonstration of the principles of progress....History was full of meaning....so long as it seemed to going our way....now that it has taken a wrong turning, belief in the meaning of history has become a heresy.’”); PART 5: The Road to Freedom; PART 6: Varieties of Humanism; PART 7: Revolutionary Socialist Humanism (“Scientific socialism gives the clearest and most consistent formulation to the anti-supernaturalism and anti-clericalism present in humanism from its beginnings. Marxism is not agnostic but uncompromisingly atheistic. Nothing exists beyond nature and humanity. Nature has been the generator of humankind through organic evolution. Mankind has become the producer of a nature humanized through social evolution”); PART 8: Socialism and the Meaning of Life.

Novack, George

Pragmatism versus Marxism (1975); An appraisal of John Dewey's philosophy, *Pathfinder Press, NY, 1975, 320 pp.*

PART 1: Pragmatism: America's National Philosophy “....or it's parent, empiricism – is the philosophy of many relatively enlightened upholders of bourgeois society among the English-speaking peoples...bound up with Progressivism, liberalism, and the reforming of capitalism.” PART 2: Dewey and the Progressive Movement; PART 3: From Puritanism to Pragmatism: “The radical tendencies associated with Transcendentalism ... helped detach philosophy from domination by the churches...for its independent development in league with the sciences and educated the ideological vanguard of the

Northern forces who overthrew the slavocracy in the second revolution”; PART 4: Ideological Sources of Dewey’s Thought: “The liberal and radical petty bourgeoisie needed both an *activist* philosophy and a *gradualist* one...”; PART 5: Peirce, James, and the Chicago School; PART 6: The Inconsistencies of Instrumentalism; PART 7: Dewey’s Conceptions of Nature and Science; “*Experience and Nature* was the nearest Dewey came to presenting a conception of reality that would be both materialist and evolutionary...Both were in disfavor among academic philosophers of his time.”; PART 8: Dewey’s Logical Method; PART 9: The Instrumentalist Theory of Knowledge; PART 10: History, Society, and Politics; PART 11: Progressive Education: “Dewey’s ideas...despite attacks from the right and criticism from the left...are the entrenched creed in education from Maine to California...the kind of education he urged went counter to the demands of monopoly capitalism”; PART 12: Dewey’s Views on Ethics, PART 13: Instrumentalism Put to the Test: “Yet Dewey’s betrayal of his liberal traditions to the imperialist war-makers (*his support for both World War 1 and 2 –ed.*) was one of the most revealing episodes in his intellectual and political biography. It marked a turning point in the development, or rather the degradation of 20th-century liberalism”; PART 14: Deweyism and Marxism: “Dewey was simply indifferent, not antipathetic, to the doctrines of Marxism. After having rejected Hegel’s logic of contradiction, he felt no obligation to come to terms with its materialist successor”; PART 15: The Metaphysics of Bourgeois Democracy: (Dewey) “approached democracy not in its concrete manifestations throughout class society, but as an abstraction to be stuffed with the content he preferred to give it. Democracy to him was less a historical phenomenon than a secular religion”; PART 16: A New Road for American Philosophy: Novack: “The truth is: American life and thought have neither bypassed nor gone ahead of Marxism; they are only now beginning to grow up to it!”

Novack, George

Polemics in Marxist Philosophy (1978) *Dist. by Pathfinder Press – 344 pp*

My philosophical Itinerary: An Autobiographical Foreword, Freedom for Philosophy; Marxism and Existentialism, In Defense of Engels; Georg Lukacs as a Marxist Philosopher; The Jestling Philosopher: The Case of Leszek Kolakowski; Sebastiano Timpanar's Defense of Materialism; Back to Kant? The Retreat of Lucio Colletti; Is Nature Dialectical? American Philosophy and the Labor Movement; Leon Trotsky on Dialectical Materialism

SWP (U.S.)

Marxist Essays in American History (1966) (Socialist Workers Party bulletin, 124 pp) First published in: NI=*New International*; FI=*Fourth International*, ISR=*International Socialist Review* (the SWP theoretical journal).

INTRODUCTION: The Key to American History, by George Novack (William F. Warde); A Marxist Approach to American Development: U.S. Capitalism, National or International? By George Novack (NI Oct. 1935).

THREE ARTICLES ON THE AMERICAN INDIANS: A Suppressed Chapter in the History of American Capitalism, by W.F. Warde: The Conquest of the Indians (FI Jan. 1949); The Destruction of Indian Communal Democracy (FI, April 1949); The Revolutionary Course of American Society (FI, May 1949);

SLAVERY IN COLONIAL AMERICA, by George Novack: Negro Slavery in North America (NI Oct. 1939), The Colonial Plantation System (NI Dec. 1939);

THE FIRST AMERICAN REVOLUTION: The Movement for American Independence, by W.F. Warde

(FI July-Aug. 1950); Tom Paine—Revolutionist, by Jean Simon (FI Mar-Apr. 1952); Class Forces in the American Revolution, by Harry Frankel (FI Mar. 1946); How the Constitution was written, by Harry Frankel (FI Apr. 1946).

INTERLUDE BETWEEN REVOLUTIONS: The Struggle for National Supremacy 1789-1848, by George Novack (NI Aug. 1939); The Jackson Period in American History, by Harry Frankel (FI Dec. 1946); Three conceptions of Jacksonianism, by Harry Frankel (FI, Mar. 1947).

THE SECOND AMERICAN REVOLUTION: Homage to John Brown, by George Novack (NI Jan. 1938), John Brown's Raid on Harper's Ferry, by Arthur Jordan (ISR, Winter 1960), The American Civil War: Its Place in History, by W.F. Warde (ISR Spring 1961); The Emancipation Proclamation, by W.F. Warde (ISR Spring 1963); Two Lessons of Reconstruction, by W.F. Warde (FI May-June 1950).

STRUGGLES FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS: Revolution and the Negro, by J.R. Johnson (NI Dec. 1939); Women who won the Right to Vote, by Joyce Cowley (FI Spring 1955)

POPULISTS, PROGRESSIVES AND THE RISE OF U.S. IMPERIALISM: A New Mirror in the Old Frame, by George Novack (NI Aug. 1938), The Two-Party System, by George Novack (NI Sept. 1938); A Page of American Imperialism, by John G. Wright (NI June 1936); A Forgotten Fighter against Plutocracy, by William F. Warde (FI, Feb. 1949); The Rise and Fall of Progressivism, by W.F. Warde (ISR Summer 1957); Jefferson, Lincoln and Dewey,* by W.F. Warde (ISR Summer 1959).

(All texts in this SWP bound volume available at National Archives, Ottawa, Canada, Dowson fonds R10995, Box 8, Folder 5, or from the webmaster.)

1959-06Summer 'Jefferson, Lincoln and Dewey,' by William F. Warde (George Novack) 'American democracy gave us the Declaration of Independence and the Emancipation Proclamation. Has John Dewey's liberal version of democracy superseded this revolutionary tradition? 'They (Jefferson and Lincoln) were the revolutionary democrats of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Marxists are the genuine revolutionary democrats of the twentieth century.'

America's Revolutionary Heritage (Pathfinder Ed. 1976, 11th Ed. 2013)

Essays by George Novack, Jean Y. Tussey, Dianne Feeley, Harry Frankel, Derrick Morrison, John G. Wright, Debbie Woodroffe, Stephanie Coontz. SECTIONS: The Native Americans; The First American Revolution (the war of independence); The slavocracy, The Second American Revolution (the Civil War); The triumph of the monopolists, The first wave of feminism.

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